

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY MANILA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4277

C O N F I D E N T I A L MANILA 7891

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, MARR, MASS, RP  
SUBJECT: VISIT TO THE PHILIPPINES

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HABIB

1. THERE ARE BREEZES OF CHANGE IN PHILIPPINE FOREIGN POLICY. WHETHER OR NOT STORM WARNINGS FOR THE U.S. SHOULD BE RAISED CAN BE DETERMINED ONLY BY THE MOST CAREFUL ANALYSIS, AND WILL DEPEND TO A MAJOR EXTENT UPON OUR CONDUCT OVER THE NEXT SIX-TWELVE MONTHS.

2. ONE SHOULD NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE RESERVOIR OF GOODWILL FILIPINOS RETAIN FOR THE U.S., NOR THE IMPORTANCE OF THE U.S. TO DEVELOPMENT ASPIRATIONS AND SECURITY NEEDS OF THE PHILIPPINES. OUR TENDENCY IN WASHINGTON, HOWEVER, MAY HAVE BEEN TO OVERESTIMATE THESE ELEMENTS, MISJUDGING CERTAIN OTHER PHILIPPINE INSTINCTS WHICH INCREASINGLY PULL THIS COUNTRY IN A SOMEWHAT CONTRARY DIRECTION. THE PINCH, IT APPEARS TO ME, HAS BEEN ACCELERATED BY INDO CHINA DEVELOPMENTS AND THE SIREN SONG OF THE PRC.

3. I WILL NOT ADDRESS IN THIS MESSAGE THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION, OTHER THAN TO POINT OUT THAT THERE IS NO IDENTIFIABLE THREAT TO MARCOS' RULE ON THE FORE-SEEABLE (2-3 YEARS) HORIZON - BARRING A BULLET, WHICH HE GUARDS AGAINST BY VIRTUAL ISOLATION IN MALACANANY. NOR WILL I ADDRESS THE MUSLIM AND RELATIVELY MINOR  
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COMMUNIST INSURGENCIES, ALTHOUGH THE FORMER IN PARTICULAR

IMPOSES AN ENORMOUS DRAIN ON THE GOP MILITARY BUDGET - WHICH IN TURN MAKES U.S. MAP ASSISTANCE OF SOMEWHAT MORE SIGNIFICANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT AND ARMY.

4. THE ESSENTIAL MESSAGE I RECEIVED FROM MY DISCUSSION WITH MARCOS, WITH ROMULO REINFORCING THE THEME, WAS THAT PHILIPPINE NATIONALISM HENCEFORTH MUST BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT BY THE U.S. NO LONGER ARE THE FILIPINOS PREPARED TO SUFFER THIRD-WORLD ALLEGATIONS OF "U.S. STOOGE." NO LONGER ARE THEY WILLING TO BE CONSIDERED THE RETARDED EX-COLONIALS OF SEA. NOR IS MARCOS PREPARED TO BROOK U.S. INTERFERENCE IN THE PHILIPPINE INTERNAL AFFAIRS, AS HE MADE CRYSTAL CLEAR IN REFERENCE TO FRASER'S HEARINGS ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THE CURRENT PILGRIMAGE OF THE MARCOSES TO THE PRC DEMONSTRATES BOTH THE PRC INTEREST IN THE PHILIPPINES, AND MARCOS' CONVICTION THAT A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CHINESE WILL SERVE HIS REVISED FOREIGN POLICY ORIENTATION. HIS RECEPTION IN PEKING HAS SO FAR BEEN PARTICULARLY WARM, AND HIS OWN PRONOUNCEMENTS DENOTE CLEARLY HIS EMERGING OUTLOOK ON THE WORLD AROUND HIM.. AS FOR ASEAN, WHILE HE ACCORDS THE ORGANIZATION AN APPROPRIATE NOD, HIS ENTHUSIASM IS CONSIDERABLY LESS THAN I DETECTED IN INDONESIA, MALAYSIA AND SINGAPORE. HIS ETHNOCENTRIC FOCUS AND FUNDAMENTAL DISTRUST OF THE THAI AND MALAYSIANS - IN WHOM HE SEEMS TO HAVE LITTLE INTEREST OR FAITH - MAY LEAD HIM TO EXPERIMENT WITH CHANNELS OTHER THAN ASEAN IN THE PURSUIT OF FOREIGN POLICY OPTIONS. MARCOS SEEKS A DIFFERENT IMAGE, PROBABLY ONLY IN PART FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL PURPOSES.

5. FUNDAMENTAL IN MARCOS' POSTURING IS THE U.S. BASE ISSUE, LARGELY BECAUSE OF ITS OVERWHELMING VISIBILITY IN THE RELATIONSHIP. WE, OF COURSE, CONDUCT OUR BUSINESS AT BOTH CLARK AND SUBIC - PLUS SEVERAL MINOR INSTALLATIONS - ESSENTIALLY WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE GOP. THAT HAS BEEN HOW WE HAVE WANTED IT, AND HAVE PRACTICED IT WITHOUT SIGNIFICANT MODIFICATIONS FOR ABOUT THIRTY YEARS. THE GOP HAS NEVER APPLIED SERIOUS PRESSURE TO ALTER THE ARRANGEMENT. NOW, HOWEVER, THE GOP STRIKES ME AS DEAD SERIOUS IN ITS INTENT TO EVOKE MAJOR CHANGES DURING THE BASE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH

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WILL COMMENCE IN EARNEST IN A FEW MONTHS.

6. ANOTHER MESSAGE CARRIES A STRONG SIGNAL, HOWEVER. MARCOS WAS INSISTENT THAT HE DOES NOT WANT TO DISLodge US FROM THE BASES, NOR WEAKEN U.S. CAPABILITY FOR ACTION IN SEA. HE APPRECIATES U.S. DETERRENT POWER IN THE REGION, AND WOULD FEEL NAKED WITHOUT THAT COZY LITTLE BLANKET WE PROVIDE.

7. FROM THIS PICTURE, I CONCLUDE WE HAVE A SUFFICIENT BASIS FROM WHICH TO WORK IN OUR MUTUAL BASE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WILL ALLOW FOR AN OUTCOME ACCOMMODATING THE ESSENTIAL NEEDS OF BOTH SIDES. WE SHALL HAVE TO MAKE A COLDLY OBJECTIVE DETERMINATION OF OUR MINIMUM OPERATIONAL REQUIREMENTS WITH RESPECT TO FACILITIES, AND THE MANAGEMENT FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH WE CAN SATISFY THOSE NEEDS. IT WILL NOT BE A QUESTION OF WHAT TERMS WOULD BE MOST COMFORTABLE FOR US, BUT RATHER WHAT IS VERY CLOSE TO OUR BAREST MINIMUM. PERSONALLY, I BELIEVE WE CAN FIND A FORMULA, PROVIDING THE GOP WITH BASIC SOVEREIGN CONTROL OVER THE BASES AND SOME SORT OF BINATIONAL MANAGEMENT WHICH GIVES US SUFFICIENT CONTROL OVER THE THINGS THAT REALLY COUNT TO US OPERATIONALLY. WE CAN THROW IN A FEW EXPENDABLES TO SWEETEN THE POT.

8. THE BASES AS PRESENTLY CONSTITUTED REPRESENT A COLONIAL VESTIGE WHICH WE CANNOT PERPETUATE WITHOUT THE GRAVEST RISK TO OUR LONGER-TERM BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP - AND IMAGE IN SEA. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY ARE A REAL MANIFESTATION OF OUR RESIDUAL POWER AND ONGOING INFLUENCE IN THE REGION, AND HAVE A DIRECT BEARING ON OUR POTENTIAL FOR IMPLEMENTING THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF OUR MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY WITH THE PHILIPPINES. THE STEPS WE TAKE THESE NEXT CRITICAL MONTHS WILL REQUIRE SOME CONSIDERABLE DIPLOMATIC ART TO MEET THE CONFLICTING NEEDS, YET PARALLEL BASIC INTERESTS, OF THE TWO COUNTRIES. THE KEY WILL BE TO "TALK TURKEY" SOON, TO ADDRESS IN A SERIOUS MANNER BOTH THE TERRITORIAL AND ASSOCIATION ISSUES WHICH WILL ARISE IN THE BASE RENEGOTIATIONS.  
PURNELL

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